

Eötvös Loránd University

Faculty of Arts

Abstract

Putz, Orsolya

**The conceptualization of the peace treaty of Trianon and
its consequences between 1990 and 2015**

Linguistics PhD School

head: Dr. Bárdosi Vilmos CSc

Cultural Linguistics PhD Program

head: Dr. Kövecses Zoltán DSc

Chair:	Dr. Banczerowski Janusz DSc, professor emeritus
Opponents:	Dr. Balázs Géza CSc Dr. Simon Gábor PhD
Members:	Dr. Benczes Réka PhD, habil Dr. Illés Éva PhD, habil Dr. Sólyom Réka PhD Dr. Szelid Veronika PhD
Supervisor:	Dr. Kövecses Zoltán DSc

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1. The peace treaty of Trianon

On 4 June 1920, at the end of World War I, the Treaty of Trianon was signed by the representatives of Hungary (the successor state of Austria-Hungary) and the Allies at the Grand Trianon Palace of Versailles, France. The peace agreement regulated the status of the new country and defined its borders. By the terms of the contract, Hungary lost two thirds of its former territory, as well as the inhabitants of these areas. While the pre-war kingdom of Hungary had a territory of 325,411 square kilometers, the territory of post-war Hungary comprised only 93,073. The population of the country was reduced from 20.9 million to 7.6 million inhabitants. Land was redistributed to four bordering states: Austria, Romania, Czechoslovakia, and Yugoslavia.

2. The aim of the research

The research has the following aims:

- 1) I intend to study the mental processing of the Trianon peace treaty and its consequences.
 - The potential elements of the conceptual system about Trianon are identified on the basis of corpus data. Moreover, it is identified which elements of this conceptual system and which mental processes are applied in the given pieces of discourse. Thus, the research has a dual goal: to study the conceptualization of Trianon both on the conceptual (abstract) level and on discourse (on-line) level.
 - It is not only the constant elements of the conceptual system about Trianon that are introduced, but their conceptual evolution as well. Alternative conceptualization happens on the synchronic level, while conceptual evolution does on the diachronic.
 - It is identified what event structure models are at work during the conceptualization of the Trianon peace treaty and its consequences, who the participating parties are, and what their attitudes are like. The text producers' attitude towards the conceptualized event and its participating parties, and towards those cognitive models that are created by their discourse partners are also studied.
 - The possible meanings of the concept of *Trianon* are defined, as well as the potential alternative TRIANON cultural models and their parts. The question is also addressed why the meaning of the notion of TRIANON could become more and more complex in political discourse.

- 2) A contribution is intended to be made to the academic Trianon discourse, based on the findings of the paper.
- Hypotheses are formulated about the text producers' aim of (re)conceptualizing the Trianon peace treaty and its consequences. In other words, it is studied why Trianon has a special role in the politics of memory.
 - Hypotheses are formulated about the reasons for handling the Trianon peace treaty and its consequences as timely issues. Why do the text producers consider an event still timely 100 years after it happened?
 - The NATION cognitive model is identified as well as the ideology that it can possibly underlie.
- 3) The paper wishes to raise some theoretical issues in cognitive linguistics.
- A method was worked out in the paper that can bridge the gap between conceptual metaphors and discourse metaphors. In this way, the paper can contribute to the solution of the theoretical and methodological debate about the relationship of the two metaphor types.
 - A significant part of the paper is metaphor identification and analysis, hence new issues are intended to be raised in conceptual metaphor theory.
 - As equal attention is dedicated to cognitive, discourse, and historical dimensions, the paper argues for the importance of research that takes these three dimensions into consideration simultaneously.

3. Research questions

The paper answers the following research questions:

- Which conceptual tools are applied in the conceptualization of the Trianon peace treaty and its consequences? Which conceptual elements does the conceptual system about Trianon consist of?
- Which factors motivate the conceptual system about Trianon? What kinds of contextual factors can the elements of the conceptual system about Trianon be traced back to?
- How do the text producers apply the elements of the conceptual system about Trianon in on-line discourses?

- What is the aim of the figurative language use in the studied texts? What is the function of the elements of the conceptual system about Trianon?
- What alternative conceptualizations and diachronic changes characterize the elements of the conceptual system about Trianon?

4. The data

The corpus consist of political speeches delivered in the Hungarian Parliament between the years of 1990 and 2015 commemorating the anniversary of the signature of the Trianon peace treaty (June 4). During these 25 years, commemorations were held in 15 years, the texts of which are recorded in the Diary of the Hungarian Diet. During the 15 years 53 talks were given, which amount to 31,624 words in total. From the researcher's perspective it can be assumed that these texts were produced and/or presented in the Parliament to introduce the text producers' ideas about Trianon to the audience. The conceptual tools that are at work during text production are essential elements of the conceptual system about Trianon.

Texts were downloaded from the Hungarian Diet's home page, where the on-line Diary of the Hungarian Diet can be found. The corpus incorporates those speeches that were given between 1990 and 2015 around June 4 with the aim of commemorating the peace treaty of Trianon. The corpus does not contain each text produced between 1990 and 2015 in which the word *Trianon* appears. If it did, the corpus would also include some texts the goal of which was not to commemorate the peace treaty of Trianon, but something else (e.g. the law of dual citizenship). In this case, the researcher could get insight not into the conceptualization of the peace treaty itself, but into the conceptualization of other phenomena, which are associated with the concepts of *Trianon* and the *peace treaty of Trianon*.

5. The theoretical framework of the research

Cognitive linguistics and cultural linguistics provide the theoretical background of the research.

Each person has the ability of cognition. Cognitive linguists claim that what we mean by cognition is the mental processing of our experiences, and their mental representations in our minds (Croft–Cruse 2004). The result of this process is the emergence of knowledge. With the help of language we can express our knowledge about the world, on the one hand and get to know the world, on the other hand. It means that language is simultaneously the means of

expressing our knowledge about the world and the means of cognition. This view has two consequences.

1) Our thoughts about Trianon can be expressed through language. Cognitive linguists suggest (in Hungarian Bańczerowski 2010, while in English Barcelona–Valenzuela 2011) that if we study language, we can get a deeper insight into how we understand the world, since the way we understand the world is encoded in language. By studying pieces of discourse about Trianon, the researcher can identify those mental processes that are at work during the conceptualization of the Trianon peace treaty and its consequences.

2) We acquire knowledge about the peace treaty of Trianon and its consequences through language. This knowledge is heavily culture-specific as the Hungarian nation processes the events in a particular way, which is different from the way the other parties taking part in the peace treaty conceptualize it. The Hungarian nation's cultural knowledge has been transmitted through language for decades and it significantly influences the way we think. As language and thought mutually determine each other, the concepts used about Trianon influence the way we think of Trianon, and the other way around.

In the study of language and cognition, there is a third factor that should not be omitted: culture. Kövecses (2010) claims that the aim of both language and culture is meaning-making. He defines culture in the following way: "We have a culture (be it small or large) when a group of people living in a social, historical, and physical environment make sense of their experiences in a more or less unified manner" (Kövecses 2010: 740). The people who make up a culture create meaning together, which is represented not only in language, but in other forms as well (e.g. in behavior). Cultures can be differentiated on the basis of their typical conceptual system.

Sharifian's (2008) idea is close to this, who considers culture as an emergent complex system, which can be owned not only by individuals but groups as well. In his emergent cultural cognition model, he differentiates between two levels. Global-level cultural cognition emerges from the interaction of the group members, while local-level cultural cognition represents how cultural cognition is shared among people. The members of the cultural group do not necessarily have in mind all of the elements of the global-level cultural cognition. The members do not share the same elements. In other words cultural cognition is distributed heterogeneously among group members. The system is a complex adaptive system.

In accordance with Kövecses (2010) and Sharifian (2008), I believe that knowledge about Trianon is part of the Hungarians' cultural cognition. It is represented in forms of conceptual elements (e.g. conceptual categories, metaphor) in their mind and is transmitted

through language. This culturally determined knowledge can be represented on three levels: individual, group, and global levels. The group level and the global level share emergent features. There is a dynamic relationship between the levels. The members of the Hungarian culture think of and speak similarly about Trianon.

6. Research method

A method has been worked out for metaphor identification and analysis that can answer the following questions:

1) Metaphors in the conceptual system

- What metaphors does the conceptual system contain?

2) Metaphors in the on-line discourse flow

- How are metaphors about Trianon used in the flow of discourse?

To study these two levels I introduced the following two-level metaphor identification process:

1) Identifying conceptual metaphors: top-down method

Steps:

1. Read the text.
2. Identify all the linguistic metaphoric expressions.
3. Identify the main target domains + match the source domains with them.
4. Identify the conceptual metaphors and the relating ICMs, conceptual categories, image schemas etc. via schematization and abstraction.

2) Identifying metaphors of the on-line discourse: bottom-up method

Steps:

1. Re-read the text.
2. Identify those mental spaces that refer to debates.
3. Identify those mental processes within the already known conceptual system about Trianon that the alternative conceptualization, i.e. the debate is related to.
4. Identify the linguistic construction of the metaphors and the related conceptual tools appearing in the dynamic discourse flow.

7. The structure of the paper

The paper is made up of four parts.

From chapter 1 to 3 in Part 1, the theoretical and methodological background of the research is introduced, namely the subject, the main goals, the corpus, the theory and the methodology of the research.

Parts 2 and 3 are the analysis. In chapters 4, 5 and 6, the conceptual tools are identified and analyzed that are at work when the peace treaty and its consequences are conceptualized. It is studied what kind of potential conceptual system may exist in the text producers' mind about the peace treaty and its consequences. Moreover, the contextual factors that might motivate this conceptual system are introduced.

Chapters 7, 8 and 9 explore the goal of the text producers in on-line discourses when they apply the elements of the conceptual system about Trianon, which they potentially own. How do they use it? The phenomena that lead to alternative conceptualization are also identified and analyzed.

Chapters 10 in part 4 is the summary of the research results. It tells about the Trianon cultural models, about the characteristics of the conceptual system about Trianon, and about its diachronic and synchronic variations. Chapters 11 and 12 are concerned with the social and academic aspects of the research results.

8. Summary of the results

The theoretical framework of cognitive linguistics enables the researcher to study the conceptual, discourse, and social dimensions of such a culturally deeply entrenched concept as *Trianon*, which heavily influences Hungarian national identity.

The text producers' conceptual system about Trianon is motivated by a conventional conceptual system, the elements of which evolved in 1920. When the politicians apply the elements of this conventionalized conceptual system in on-line discourses, the emotions and evaluations connected to this conventionalized conceptual system are also activated.

The peace treaty of Trianon and its consequences are conceptualized as current problems at the time of speech. The problem and its solution are conceptualized in different ways. The conceptual tools used in the mental processing of the Trianon peace treaty and its consequences indicate the problem (e.g. metaphors: THE NATION IS A VICTIM; metaphoric

entailments: TRUNCATION causes harm to the patient; the implications of conceptual categories: INJUSTICE is not an ideal situation, hence people want to change it; the implications of roles: the SUPPRESSOR acts against the interests of the suppressed entity). The peace treaty of Trianon and its consequences are conceptualized as problems because of these conventionalized conceptual tools. As long as the nation thinks of and speaks about the treaty and its consequences in terms of these conceptual tools, it will conceptualize it as a topical problem.

The Act on National Cohesion 2010 re-conceptualized June 4 and the peace treaty of Trianon as well. The conceptual tools of the act and of the authoritative rhetoric of the government offer a particular solution to the actual problem within the same source domains of the problem metaphor, or by introducing new metaphors, or by shifting the focus of the problem metaphor. After 2010 a debate has begun about the reconceptualization of June 4 and the treaty itself, in which both parties apply the conceptual tools of the conventionalized conceptual system about Trianon, but they do it differently. The representatives of the authoritative rhetoric borrow some elements of the traditional rhetoric. The success of making people accept the authoritative rhetoric depends on whether the authoritative rhetoric can offer solutions to those problems that are raised by the traditional rhetoric.

Trianon was not a taboo topic in the Parliament between 1990 and 2015. During these 25 years, commemorations were held on June 4 in 15 years, and altogether 31,624 words were pronounced on the subject.

The TRIANON cultural model is a remarkable part of the Hungarian national identity. Due to the conceptualization of the event, the NATION category changes. Part of the central members of the pre-1920 Hungarian nation category became peripheral members of the post-1920 category, while the peripheral members of the pre-1920 category fell out of this category.

The conceptualization of the Trianon peace treaty and its consequences are motivated by national ideology on the one hand, and the conceptualization strengthens the national ideology, on the other.

In the studied time span, all the parties that give a talk apply the idea of cultural/ethnic national identity. According to this ideology, the nation is not only made up of people living

in Hungarian intellectual territory, but also by Hungarian people living in the neighboring countries and all over the world.

In the studied time span, all parties consider it as the government's task to represent the rights of Hungarians living outside Hungary's borders.

In the studied time span all parties regard it as the consequence of the Trianon peace treaty that parts of the nation live outside Hungary's borders. The status of Hungarians living outside Hungary's borders constitutes a problem, which is conceptualized in different ways, as well as its solution.

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